

## Message Text

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AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIMA 7062

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA 5)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PE

SUBJECT: SOME CIVILIAN POLITICAL VIEWS ON GOP CHANGES

SUMARY. CIVILIAN POLITICIANS AND POLITICAL GROUPS VIEW RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN DIVERSE WAYS DEPENDING ON THEIR POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE AS WELL AS A CONSIDERATION OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE TACTICS TO EMPLOY IN THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES. ATTITUDE AND REACTION VARY FROM RATHER COMPLETE DISILLUSIONMENT ON THE PART OF "REVOLUTIONARY MILITANTS" AND FOR DIFFERENCE BY FORMER PRESIDENT BELAUNDE, TO THE STUDIED "NO COMMENT" OF APRA AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY (PCP). APRA HOPES TO QUIETLY INFLUENCE THE GOP, PERHAPS THROUGH PRIME MINISTER ARBULU, THE GOVERNMENT PREPARES ITS POLITICAL PLAN. THE PCP HAS NOT OPENLY BROKEN WITH THE MILGOV, BUT MAY HOPE TO CAPITALIZE ON WIDESPREAD CIVILIAN DISCONTENT. END SUMMARY.

1. COMMENTS ON RECENT GOP POLITICAL CHANGE BY REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGUE, JOURNALIST AND TV PERSONALITY RAFAEL RONCAGLIOLO, DESCRIBE A PERCEIVED ABRUPT POLITICAL SHIFT TO THE RIGHT.  
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RONCAGLIOLO PLAYED AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN DEFINING AND INTERPRETING THE REVOLUTION DURING THE VELASCO YEARS AND HIS VIEWS ARE PROBABLY SHARED BY MANY OF THE "FIRST PHASE" INTELLECTUALS. RONCAGLIOLO, INTERVIEWED BY THE MEXICO CITY DAILY EXCELSIOR DESCRIBES THE GOOP

AS A "COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT WHICH EXPROPRIATING THE REVOLUTION HAS EMBARKED ON THE ROAD TOWARD CAPITALIST RESTORATION". RONCAGLIOLO, WHO CLAIMS TO BE "PERSECUTED" BY THE POLICE, GAVE SEVERAL REASONS FOR HIS ANALYSIS. "FIRST, BECAUSE THIS GOVERNMENT FAVORS THE CAPITALIST SECTOR AS DEMONSTRATED BY RECENT MEASURES IN THE FISHING INDUSTRY AND CONCERNING PETROLEUM POLICY." "SECOND, THE GOVERNMENT HAS CEASED BEING A NATIONALIST REGIME AND IS BEGINNING TO BECOME PRO-IMPERIALIST. IT ECONOMIC POLICY ANSWERS THE EXIGENCIES OF THE FOREIGN FINANCIAL ENTITIES WHOSE GOD-FATHER IS KISSINGER." "THIRD, THIS IS AN UNPOPULAR GOVERNMENT, THE PROOF OF WHICH IS PROHIBITION ON STRIKES, LIMITATIONS ON JOB SECURITY AND MASSIVE LAY-OFFS CLIMAXED BY THE DISMISSAL OF FISHERMEN FROM PESCAPERU."

2. CRITICISM OF THE GOPIRSO COMES FROM TRADITIONAL POLITICAL GROUPS. FORMER PRESIDENT BELAUNDE, INTERVIEWED BY THE ITALIAN PRESS AGENCY ANSA, LAMENTED MORALES BERMUDEZ' FAILURE TO MENTION A "RETURN TO CONSTITUTIONALITY" IN THE PRESIDENT'S JULY 28 ADDRESS. BELAUNDE CLAIMED THAT "IMPORTANT SECTORS" OF THE ARMED FORCES AND ALL THE CIVILIANS DESIRE IMMEDIATE ELECTIONS". BELAUNDE WENT ON TO SAY, ACCORDING TO THE ANSA REPORT, THAT "EVERYBODY KNOWS THE NAVY DESIRES THAT THE CURRENT STATE OF DIRECT PARTICIPATION (OF THE MILITARY IN POLITICS) END AS SOON AS POSSIBLE".

3. IN CONTRAST TO THE OUTSPOKEN FORMER PRESIDENT BELAUNDE, THE MAJOR CIVILIAN PARTY APRA HAS REFRAINED FROM COMMENT ON RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND IS EXPECTED TO MAINTAIN ITS SILENCE FOR A PRUDENT PERIOD. THE APRA POLITICAL STRATEGY INVOLVES QUIET BEHIND-THE-SCENES CONTACTS WITH THE MILGOV. APRA CO-SECRETARY CARLOS ROCA CACERES (EXILED BY VELASCO) TOLD EMBOFF AUGUST 3 THAT APRA LEADER ARMANDO VILLANUEVA CONTINUES TO MEET PERIODICALLY WITH INTERIOR MINISTER CISNEROS TO CONSIDER AREAS OF "COMMON INTEREST" AND MOST SPECIFICALLY WAYS TO COUNTERACT MARXIST INFLUENCE AMONG CIVILIAN GROUPS. ROCA SAID THAT ON JULY 16, FOR EXAMPLE, APRA WAS ADVISED AT 10 A.M. THAT PRIME MINISTER FERNANDEZ MALDONADO WAS TO BE REMOVED THAT DAY AND APRA SHOULD "REMAIN ALERT" TO MEET POTENTIAL LEFTIST REACTION. ROCA IMPLIED THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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APRA WAS READY TO TAKE TO THE STREETS IN SUPPORT OF THE MILITARY MODERATES.

4. APRA IS SOMEWHAT ENCOURAGED, SAID ROCA, BY THE DESIGNATION OF GENERAL ARBULU AS PRIME MINISTER. THE PARTY VIEWS HIM AS A "PROFESSIONAL MILITARY MAN", PRIMARILY CONCERNED WITH RESTORING THE PRESTIGE OF "A STILL DIVIDED ARMY AND MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT". APRA FEELS THAT ARBULU MAY ACCOMMODATE APRA TO SOME EXTENT IN AN EFFORT TO ESCAPE FROM THE POLITICAL MORASS IN WHICH THE MILITARY FINDS ITSELF. ROCA FEELS THAT THE MILGOV WILL HAVE TO DETERMINE BEFORE OCTOBER 3 (THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1968 COUP) HOW THAT POLITICAL "CONTINUITY" REFERRED TO BY MORALES BERMUDEZ ON JULY 28 IS TO BE ACHIEVED. ROCA FEELS THAT IF THE DECISION IS

POSTPONED BEYOND OCTOBER, MILITARY CREDIBILITY WITH THE POPULACE WILL FURTHER DECLINE. IT IS THE PLAN TUPAC AMARU, AGAIN UNDER REVISION, WHICH SHOULD CONTAIN AN OUTLINE FOR THE POLITICAL FUTURE. APRA HOPES TO QUIETLY INFLUENCE THE FINAL DRAFT OF THAT PLAN THROUGH INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE OR EVEN THROUGH THE MECHANISM OF A CIVILIAN ADVISORY COUNCIL. ROCA STATED THAT APRA VIEWS WILL ALSO BE CHanneLED TO THE PRIME MINISTER THROUGH HIS BROTHER, BIAGGO ARBULU GALLIANI, WHO ROCA SAID IS A LONG-TIME APRA LEADER AND IS "AT LEAST A POINT OF CONTACT" FOR APRA/GOP COMMUNICATION.

5. ROCA COMMENTED ON THE POLITICAL STRENGTH OF MORALES BERMUDEZ STATING THAT APRA IS STILL UNCERTAIN BOTH OF HIS POLITICAL VIEWS AND OF HIS DEGREE OF CONTROL OVER EVENTS. HE WAS PASSIVE DURING THE IMPORTANT JULY INCIDENTS LEADING UP TO AND INCLUDING THE REMOVAL OF FERNANDEZ MALDONADO, SAID ROCA, AND HE IS EITHER PERSONALLY WEAK (BUT NEEDED AS A SYMBOL OF MILGOV UNITY) OR CLEVERLY MACHIAVELLIAN. THOSE PERSONS PRESENTING THE GREATEST CHALLENGE TO MORALES BERMUDEZ' POSITION -- GERNERALS GRAHAM, RODRIGUEZ-FIGUEROA AND FINALLY FERNANDEZ MALDONADO -- HAVE BEEN ELIMINATED. YET THEIR REMOVAL APPEARED TO BE DUE TO THEIR OWN MACHINATIONS RATHER THAN AT THE BEHEST OF A PRESIDENT WORKING TO CONSOLIDATE POWER.

6. THE PCP, OBVIOUSLY DISCOMFITED BY RECENT POLITICAL CHANGES, HAS YET TO PUBLICLY BREAK WITH THE MILGOV. THE PARTY MAY HOPE TO MAINTAIN SOME TIES WITH THE GOVERNMENT AT THE SAME TIME ATTEMPTING TO BENEFIT POLITICALLY FROM WIDESPREAD BUT STILL UNFOCUSED DIS-  
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CONTENT OVER THE GOP ECONOMIC AUSTERITY PROGRAM AND INCREASING LIMITATIONS ON THE LABOR SECTOR (WAGE INCREASE CEILING AND SUSPENDED UNION ACTIVITY BEING MAJOR IRRITANTS). DISTURBANCES IN LIMA AND THE PROVINCES (TRADE UNION SOURCES TELL THE EMBASSY THAT AREQUIPA, WHICH MORALES BERMUDEZ HAS PROMISED TO VISIT AUGUST 15, REMAINS PARTICULARLY TENSE) COULD BREAK OUT AT ANY TIME. THE PCP AND OTHER POLITICAL GROUPS, INCLUDING THE APRA, WILL TRY TO CAPITALIZE ON DISCONTENT IN THEIR RESPECTIVE EFFORTS TO INFLUENCE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS. ALL MAY BE DISAPPOINTED BUT THE MARXISTS IN THE SHORT-RUN ARE THE LEAST LIKELY TO INCREASE IN POLITICAL INFLUENCE.  
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